142 Their bodies are clean, and I have never seen a Cayapa who had a
[515] rash or boils, and only few who had scars. Their hair is thick, bristly
[302] and dull black in color; the beardless men wear it semi-long to the nape of the neck, while the women let it hang loose and open so that it not only covers their backs and ears, but in part even their fore-
291 heads and cheeks. Their clothes are extremely modest. The men wear a sleeveless, shirt-like, loose gown, which usually reaches to the hips only, but is sometimes longer, reaching to the knees, in which case it seems to be the holiday attire, and it looks richer having a border of differently colored cloth. These clothes are made of thin, very bright and cheap cotton materials. On special occasions
292 they even dress in gala clothes, which differ from their every-day
531 clothes in that they are decorated with straight lines or zig-zag de-
301 signs of shells. In addition they may deck themselves out in their
177 most precious ornaments consisting of two to ten long necklaces made of multi-colored glass beads as well as (at least from their point of view) especially beautiful neck and arm ornaments consisting of the cardboards 6 cm. wide so well known to all of us, with a whole gross of ordinary porcelain shirt-buttons on each just as they were delivered by the European manufacturers. But even among them there are
292 dandies and fashion hounds, who manage to pick up a useless old
177 black waistcoat somewhere, which they then decorate with a lot of white shells and buttons, wearing it as a sort of open vest over their red or blue shirts. But imagine the happiness of the young man who in addition to this splendor, has managed to acquire a stiff round felt hat. No matter how shabby, battered, greasy and much too small it may be on his fat pate with the thick mop of hair, he is proud of his elegance and would not change places even with the governor. The
622 Gobernador de los Cayapas (Governor of the Cayapas) is one of their
177 chiefs, of which each village or district has one—yes of course—he
292 is a great gentleman—he can afford it—he not only wears a shell
301 bedecked waistcoat over his red cotton shirt, but over it still another long, black morning-coat, which he has bought from or been given by Don So-and-so, because it had become too tight, unfashionable or shabby for the latter. And around his neck and wrists he wears especially wide cardboards with buttons in proportion to his dignity. Naturally it would be considered unseemly for a governor to come to town without suitable head-gear, even if it be only a self-made straw panama hat for lack of a black felt hat. But even he does not wear
[293] trousers or shoes, which are considered superfluous and burdensome; instead he carries in his right hand a wooden stick five feet long with a silver knob as a symbol of his position and power.

2 Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

as that of the plantain. Almost every family owns its cane mill and distillery, which are supplied by the omnipresent canefields.

With all this emphasis on agriculture, the *Cayapa* are, nevertheless, a jungle people, skilled hunters of many species of rodents, deer, felines, peccaries, armadillos, and birds. Life at the riverside encourages and is encouraged by dependence on fish, crustaceans, shellfish, and crocodile eggs. Under aboriginal conditions the *Cayapa* were probably never hungry.

Hogs and chickens are now kept everywhere. Dogs are not conspicuously reported.

Food is mostly boiled, though frequently meat will be broiled or baked. Surpluses are dried and smoked.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Though maps traditionally locate *Capaya* "villages," these are nothing but agglomerations of three or four houses and a church. The houses stand empty most of the year and are used only at holidays when the priests visit the *Cayapa*.

The actual habitations of the people are spread through the jungle, always at riversides (pl. 57, *top*) and usually isolated from one another by fields or even uncleared stretches. The houses stand on high poles 6 to 12 feet off the ground and are reached by removable ladders. The roof is thatched with palm leaves (pl. 57, *center*), and the rectangular house is virtually unenclosed. Sometimes the house floor is separated into two parts, one for cooking, the other for sleeping and eating. One chief had a large house (pl. 57, *bottom*) which could seat 40 people and which had more than two "rooms." The furniture is scanty: hammocks are used for sitting and sleeping, and wooden seats are sometimes found. An attempt by Barrett to correlate these seats with the famous stone seats of Manabi (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 780) seems very inconclusive.

In addition to permanent houses, small temporary ranchos are sometimes built when people are far from home. The houses in the "village" are standard structures, but the church follows Spanish ways: it rests on the ground and has walls.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Although *Cayapa* tradition records a period when the people wore blankets and even ponchos, today their clothes are scanty (pl. 59, *bottom*). The men wear a tight, small, white garment, made like bathing trunks, and a thin gaudy shirt of calico, with short and very tight sleeves. On festive occasions vests of European cut and manufacture are frequently donned over the shirt, and so are felt fedoras.

Women wear a long skirt of native cloth, girded with a narrow fringed belt. As in the Highlands, several skirts of different weights are sometimes worn. Head, shoulders, and chest are usually left bare.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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greater size of the structure calls for correspondingly larger and stronger timbers and pillars. Furthermore, the fact that the floor is at ground level makes unnecessary the timbers which in the dwelling are required to support the floor.

Dress

At the present time the everyday dress of the men consists chiefly of two pieces: a very small, tight-fitting clout (pl. CXVI, 1-3), similar in appearance to short bathing trunks, and an improvised shirt made of calico or of gaudily figured bandana handkerchiefs. On special occasions, such as at feasts and other gatherings, a man adds to this a hat of European or of American manufacture; necklaces of beads, buttons, and silver coins; wrist-bands and neck-bands of small white buttons; and decorations upon the face and exposed parts of the body in red, yellow, or black paint. These ornaments are used to some extent also in the everyday life of the people. In pls. LIII-LVI are shown various types of necklaces and neck- and wrist-bands, and in pls. XXXIX-LII are illustrated typical paintings of the face, arms, and legs. Some of the men paint very little, others very elaborately; some wear no necklaces or similar decorations, others wear many such ornaments; and still others bedeck themselves in both manners very profusely.

The small trunk is ordinarily made of the same kind of native cloth as is used by the women in their dress. It is cut from a piece woven specially for the purpose

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FIESTEROS AND CHURCH AT PUNTA VENADO

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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YOUNG MEN DRESSED FOR FIESTA

[Photo (G)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUME

[p. 64(1)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUME COMPLETED WITH A VEST

[p. 611 (J)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUME WITH FOREIGN HAT

[p. 66(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUMES

[p. 66(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD4

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BOY DRESSED FOR FIESTA

[p. 66(c)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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BOY DRESSED FOR FIESTA

[p.66(b)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUMES

[p. 66(E)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUME

[p. 66 (F)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUME

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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FIESTA COSTUME

[p. 66 (H)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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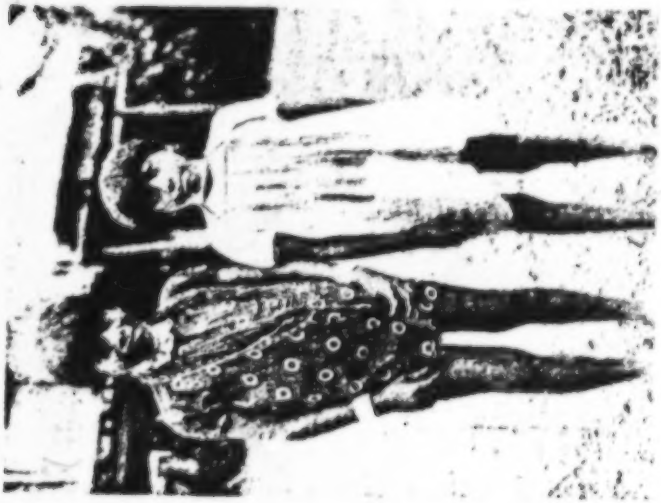
BOYS DRESSED FOR FIESTA



BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 66 (I)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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PL. XXXVIII

BOYS DRESSED FOR FIESTA

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 66(J)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

142 An interesting example of the possible differences in
484 skin color is shown, however, when any of the Indians journey to the coast, and especially if they voyage a considerable distance at sea, which they frequently do when some of them have occasion to visit Tumaco or Esmeraldas. On such occasions they take their canoes
[505] out to sea and paddle, skirting the shore-line for a considerable number of miles. The trip from Limones to Esmeraldas necessitates a journey of about fifty miles on the open sea, and ordinarily requires at least a week.
[292] For such trips the Cayapa usually dress specially, in that they put on extra necklaces, neckbands, and wristbands, and otherwise ornament themselves for the occasion. Their tight-fitting neckbands and wristbands are never taken off while they are away from home, consequently the portions of the skin covered by them are protected from the influence of the elements. When they return home, however, this finery is usually taken off. The
142 contrast between the covered portions of skin and the exposed parts is striking, even though the intervals of sunshine along the coast are practically as infrequent as along the river. The sea breeze has a marked tanning effect, consequently the traveler returns home almost as brown as many of our North American Indians who are subjected to sun and wind during much of the year. The covered portions of the skin, however, remain the same color as when the Cayapa leaves home, and it is therefore possible to contrast the natural color with the tan. No color charts were available for purposes of comparison and exact record, but the differences between these two tints are considerable and show the natural color of the Cayapa, as previously mentioned, to be

or the front may differ from the back in solid colors. Often the panels may be cut vertically or diagonally with different brightly hued colors. The shirt, which falls to knee-length, is usually bordered at the hem by the same band that joins the front and rear panels. Sometimes the multicolored hem may be overlaid with the panel material that has been cut in triangular points. This gorgeous array is usually topped off with a white plastic fedora that has been smuggled in from Colombia. If the feet are shod, they are usually encased in knee-length rubber boots. For festive occasions, the men wear lipstick and round patches of rouge on their cheeks. Sometimes they also place a round spot of rouge about an inch and a half in diameter, in the middle of their foreheads. The over-all effect is quite striking.

Some men do not use cosmetics but prefer to dress up for fiestas in western clothing that often includes underwear and transparent nylon sport shirts in white, red, blue, yellow, or green. On occasion, a man will place a bright yellow straight plastic comb in his hair. Men quite often buy wrist watches for which they have no earthly use. The watches are fairly expensive, poorly

made, and seldom in working order. The brand names are obvious imitations of well known trade-marks, and men may be seen sporting watches marked "Algin," "Danrus," or "Wiltham." If queried as to the time of day, the most likely response is "just today the watch stopped working."

Attractive as the Cayapa male is in his festive array, the woman is clearly the fashion leader. Because she is short-legged and thick-waisted, her adornment is calculated to conceal these features and to shift attention to her face instead. Like the male, she is rouged and lip-painted. Occasionally she paints a black line across her cheeks and upper lip. Her hair, which is waist length, is fastened at the side and front with multi-colored barrettes, while the crown of the head is covered by a Juliet's cap fabricated of shiny coins. Around her shoulders and neck depend row after row of brightly-hued glass and metal beads and strings of coins. The ultimate row of baubles may fall below the hip line. Beaded ligatures may be placed on her arms, and silver rings may adorn all of her fingers except the thumbs. Around her shoulders she wears a bright

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silk or rayon shawl which can cover her head, face and breast when she is dancing. Her skirt, worn over a black cotton underskirt /t^{y}ún^{y}a/, falls just below the knee and is a wrap-around in a solid color. It is embroidered at the hem in the manner of the men's shirt fashions. A belt secures the underskirt, and the overskirt is tucked in at the waist. The women spend a good deal of time adjusting the overskirt.

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For dancing or for receiving the blows of the cat-o-nine-tails /ástečúwa/ as punishment, the woman puts on over her usual skirts a woven wrap-around skirt made of heavy cotton and decorated with both geometric and realistic designs. Many colors are used, but blue, white, and red predominate. Since the present generation of women is almost completely ignorant of the weaver's art, the skirts are seldom their own handiwork.

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Manufactures. Woodworking: It is immediately apparent that canoes and their handling are extremely important to all the inhabitants of the area. Young boys often begin their lessons in canoemanship by playing on the drifting logs that come down stream when the river is in flood. They tumble and splash and learn

Negroes present for Church services, because they like to hear them sing. One of the complaints voiced against the/ún^{y}i/ was that he had not invited enough Negro singers to the fiesta.

On Easter Sunday, there was a great deal of varied activity in all of the houses as the Cayapa prepared for the church activities. This meant that they put on their newest clothing, and young children were dressed in the kind of ornamentation ordinarily worn by women, they often had row upon row of beads and bangles hanging from the neck down to the waist. Around ten o'clock, the church bell rang, and people began drifting over to the church. The officials stood outside with their whips, and as people approached, they struck them several times across the buttocks. Some went into the church, where the chief stood in front of the altar. They bent forward and received the blows. Children were whipped also, but very lightly. Some of the officials went into each of the houses looking for stragglers. After all had been whipped, they whipped themselves and one of them whipped the chief. Only a few of the Negroes joined in the ritual, and, in these

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She told him the story, and when Aurelio returned home, he notified the /únʸi/, Gabriel, and the case was brought up at Punta Venado during Christmas of 1960. Julio Tapullo, looking somewhat embarrassed, stood alone off to one side with his crippled left arm, supported by his right arm, laid across his chest. He was dressed in rather shabby clothing. [Most Cayapa try to wear new clothing to a fiesta.] His wife and Segundo stood somewhat apart in the center of a circle composed of about sixty people. Everyone, including the /únʸi/, was very drunk. Gabriel asked why María had left her husband, and she replied that Julio was not supporting her and that he never bought her cloth and jewelry. Julio flatly denied everything. People in the crowd were saying that Julio could do as much work with his one good arm as most men could do with two. In the discussion between Gabriel and the two culprits it became obvious that they had come into contact quite accidently. Segundo had been out looking for a second wife at the same time that María had left Julio, and they met on the Río Onzole. Gabriel asked Segundo why he had felt he had to look for another wife when he already had three children, but

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